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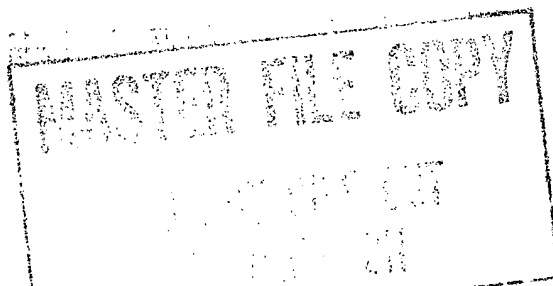
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The Overseas Sikhs: A Terrorism Issue

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The Overseas Sikhs: A Terrorism Issue

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A Research Paper

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This paper was prepared by [] Office
of Global Issues, and [] Office of Near
Eastern and South Asian Analysis. It was
coordinated with the Directorate of Operations, the
Immigration and Naturalization Service, and the
Federal Bureau of Investigation. []

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Comments and queries are welcome and may be
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The Overseas Sikhs: A Terrorism Issue

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Summary

*Information available
as of 16 May 1986
was used in this report.*

Sikh terrorists are members of an extremist fringe that wants to establish a fundamentalist, independent Sikh nation—Khalistan—in the Indian state of Punjab. On an almost daily basis over the past four years, they have carried out violent acts in India against Indian Government officials and facilities, Hindus, and moderate Sikhs who oppose the extremist cause. The assassination of Indira Gandhi was the most notorious of these acts. []

While the Sikh issue is largely confined to India, the presence of about 2 million Sikhs—some of them active separatists—in other countries around the world has made Khalistan an international issue. Separatists among overseas Sikhs reportedly constitute a loosely organized global mechanism capable of moving and providing safehaven for Sikh extremists fleeing prosecution in India or bent on terrorism. We have no information, however, that ties Sikh extremists to any international terrorist organizations. []

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The extremists' willingness to attack Indian interests abroad, as manifested in the plot to kill Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in the United States and the Air India bombings off Ireland and in Tokyo, reveals some Sikh militants to be ruthless in pursuit of their goal. The threat could come either from known terrorists associated with Sikh extremist organizations or from small groups or individuals committed to avenging acts by the Indian Government against Sikh militants in India. Potential terrorists could easily obtain paramilitary training and arms, we believe; many Sikhs have served in the Indian or other armies. []

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The threat to Indian Government and commercial interests abroad, as well as to moderate Sikhs, is likely to continue because the hardcore extremists, we believe, will only be satisfied with the establishment of an independent Sikh nation—an extremely unlikely event. []

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We judge Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States to be the most likely sites for Sikh violence outside India. They have the largest expatriate Sikh populations and the most active separatist extremists. []

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Other countries serve, or could serve, as way stations and safehavens for terrorists because of proseparatist sentiment in their Sikh communities or their proximity to countries most susceptible to extremist acts. These include The Bahamas, Mexico, Thailand, and West Germany, which the US Immigration and Naturalization Service reports are way stations on the route of illegal Sikh immigration to the United States; Pakistan, which India says harbors Sikh terrorists and allows them easy transit across the border; Nepal, its porous border with India and lax immigration policies making it a prime transit point for Sikh terrorists traveling into, and out of, India; Kenya, which has a large proseparatist Sikh community; and Norway, which has several active Sikh separatist organizations.

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In contrast to the extremist fringe, most of the world's Sikhs want Punjab to remain in the Indian union, but with considerable autonomy; there are strong historical, religious, cultural, and economic ties to the country that most Sikhs are reluctant to sever. This majority wants, however, almost total control over Punjab's affairs, leaving only national defense, foreign affairs, communications, and currency under New Delhi's control. The most immediate demands of the majority are for a redrawing of Punjab's boundaries to ensure a Sikh majority in the state, improved prices for Punjab's agricultural products, greater control over Punjab's irrigation water, and sole possession of Chandigarh, the capital Punjab now shares with neighboring Haryana. The longer these demands remain unmet, the greater the appeal of the separatist cause to the majority of Sikhs and the greater the threat that the extremists will increase their use of terrorism worldwide to achieve their goal.

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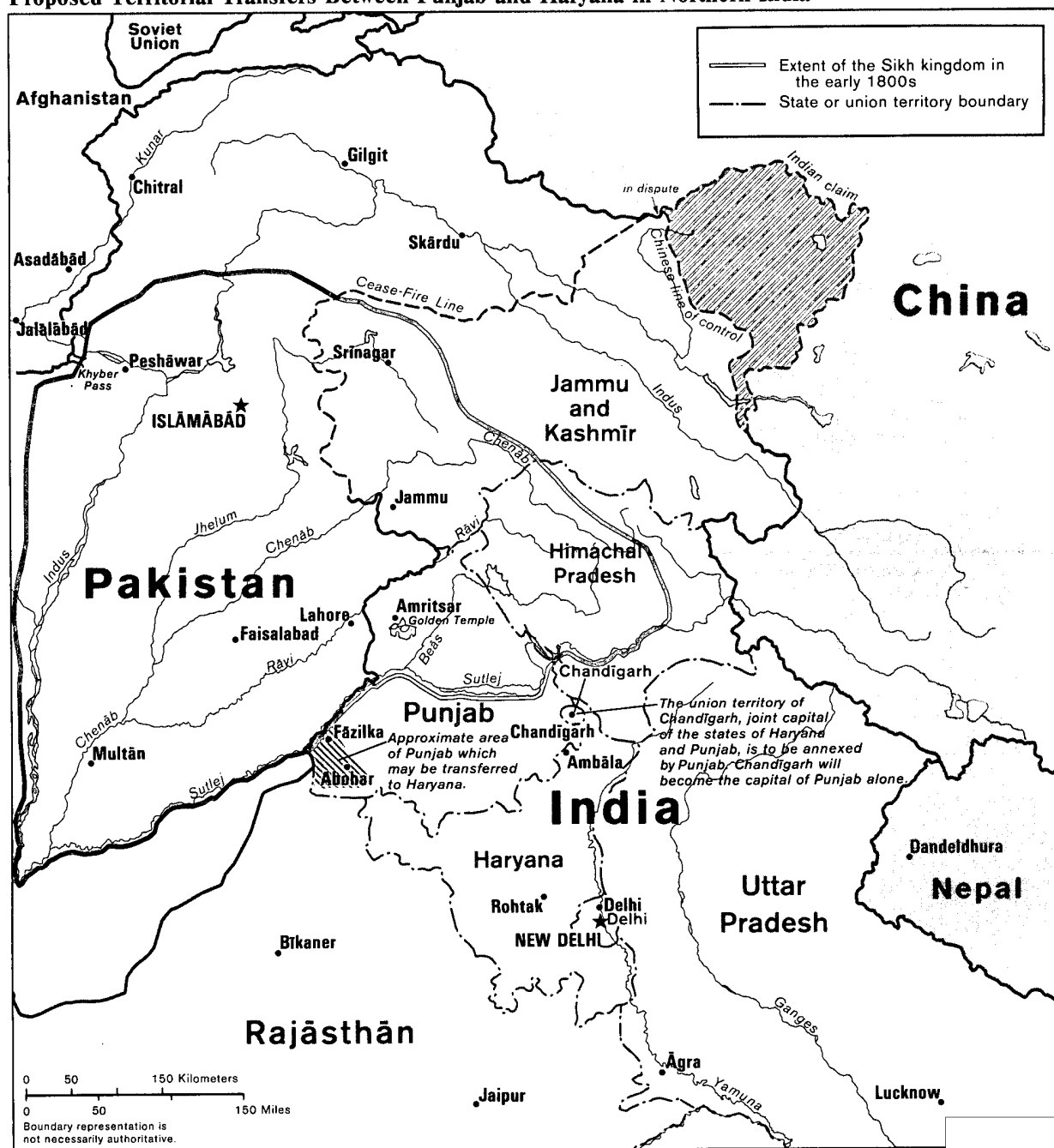
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Proposed Territorial Transfers Between Punjab and Haryana in Northern India



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The Overseas Sikhs: A Terrorism Issue

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Sikhs at a Glance

About 16 million of the world's approximately 18 million Sikhs live in India; the remainder are scattered in more than 20 countries. Sikhs constitute 2 percent of India's population. Some 60 percent live in Punjab, where they comprise 52 percent of the state's population, and the rest are widely distributed across the country, with large numbers in New Delhi, Haryana, and Jammu-Kashmir. Sikhs dominate Punjab's highly productive agricultural sector, which has transformed India from a food-deficit to a food-surplus nation. Sikhs also dominate the state's industrial and service sectors and are strongly represented at all levels of state and national government. They are disproportionately represented in India's armed forces, where they make up 10 to 12 percent of the enlisted ranks and at least 20 percent of the officer corps.

Sikhism arose in the Punjab late in the 15th century as one of several Hindu reform movements. The word "Sikh" means disciple; specifically, Sikhs are disciples of their 10 gurus (teachers), beginning with founder Nanak and ending with Gobind Singh, who died in 1708. Nanak taught an austere monotheism and the virtue of hard work; he also discarded the fatalism, caste system, and worship of idols associated with Hinduism. His successors shaped Sikhism into a social and religious community characterized by:

- The Punjabi language.
- The Sikh holy scriptures, the *Granth Sahib*, a collection of the hymns of the first five gurus and early Muslim and Hindu saints.
- A strongly martial tradition, sparked by the martyrdom of the fifth guru at the hands of the Moguls.
- A ceremony of baptism into the martial fraternity of the Khalsa (the Company of the Pure); viewed as the chosen of God, members of the Khalsa are the guardians of Sikh orthodoxy.

- Commitment to observe the five K's by which Sikh males generally can be identified: kesh (wearing of hair and beard unshorn), khanga (comb worn in the hair to keep it tidy), kuccha (shorts like those worn by 17th-century Sikh soldiers), kara (steel bracelet worn on the right wrist), and kirpan (a short sabre always carried by members of the Khalsa). Together with the turban worn by members of the Khalsa, the five K's symbolize purity, submission to God's will, and fearlessness.

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Sikh religious beliefs do not intrinsically foster anti-government behavior nor the notion of "holy war," although Sikhism includes a martial tradition developed during the sect's early years when it fought for survival against India's Muslim Mogul rulers and invading Afghans and Persians. This history accounts for their attraction to the Indian military. Sikhs have remained close to India's majority Hindus, frequently intermarrying with them. Unlike Indian Christians and Muslims, the Sikhs are not treated as a separate religious community in the Indian constitution, which further frustrates their desire to be separate.

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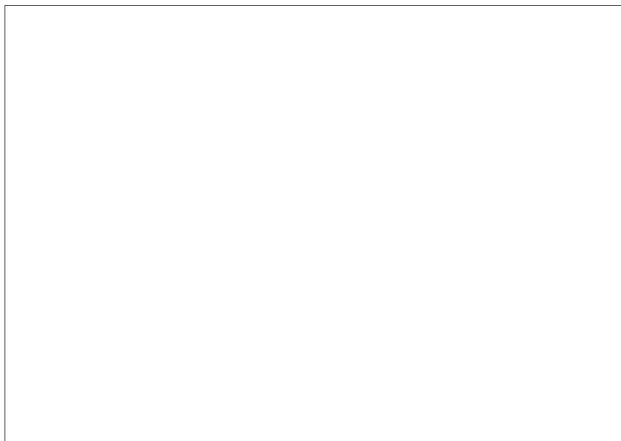
The Roots of Sikh Extremism

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Sikh separatism and, ultimately, extremist terrorism have grown from frustration with the Indian Government's seeming unwillingness to deal with the identity-related and economic grievances most Sikhs have with the national government. The Sikh passion to be separate from Hindu and Muslim neighbors has smoldered since early in the sect's history, and, during the first half of the 19th century, Sikhs enjoyed independence in a kingdom that stretched from British India to the Khyber Pass. Even though they prospered under British rule thereafter, the Sikhs petitioned Britain to establish an independent Sikh nation when the Indian subcontinent was partitioned in 1947.

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A Sikh temple in New Delhi

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Separatist pressure grew sporadically after Indian independence as New Delhi exerted greater control over state affairs. In 1966, Sikhs successfully agitated for the separation of Punjabi-speaking from Hindi-speaking districts in Punjab. The result was the formation of Hindi-speaking Haryana. Separatism reemerged in the early 1980s and, fanned by religious fundamentalist leaders who feared Sikhism's assimilation by the majority Hindus, exploded into open conflict. []

The ideal outcome that most Sikhs would prefer is autonomy for Punjab, except for national defense, foreign affairs, currency, and communications, which would remain with New Delhi. Realistically, however, they are demanding:

- A redrawing of the boundary between Sikh-dominated Punjab and Hindu-dominated Haryana, which would more accurately separate Punjabi-speaking from Hindi-speaking areas and thus ensure a comfortable Sikh majority in Punjab.
- Sole possession of Chandigarh, the capital Punjab has shared with Haryana since 1966 when the latter was split off from the original Indian Punjab.
- Greater parity between government-fixed prices for the agricultural products of Punjab—India's breadbasket—and the cost of seed and fertilizer.
- Greater control over the irrigation water Punjab shares with neighboring states. []

Holy War

The current conflict began in 1981 when some fundamentalist Sikh leaders turned agitation by moderate Sikhs into a "holy war" against alleged discrimination by the "Hindu" national government. The extremists mobilized a growing segment of Punjabi Sikhs to challenge government authority and to support—at least tacitly—violence against government officials, progovernment Sikhs, and, sometimes, local Hindus. The extremists eventually seized and barricaded the most holy of Sikh shrines, the Golden Temple in Amritsar, and used it as a base for conducting local terrorist forays. The Indian Army's assault on the Golden Temple in June 1984, which resulted in the death of extremist leader Sant (saint) Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and about 1,000 Sikhs, the arrests of thousands of suspected terrorists, and the imposition of Army control on the state, broadened Sikh support for a separate Sikh nation known as Khalistan. []

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The spasm of anti-Sikh violence that followed Indira Gandhi's assassination in October 1984 by her Sikh bodyguards embittered even more Sikhs. In May 1985, extremists seized control of one faction of the Akali Dal, the main Sikh political party, and began a monthlong period of mourning for the anniversary of the Army's assault on the Golden Temple with a spate of bombings across northern India that caused some 85 deaths. []

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Sikhs in New Delhi demonstrating for greater autonomy, 1982



Sikh militants in Punjab, 1982

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Recent Developments

Rajiv's strong response to this violence, which included institution of unprecedented antiterrorism legislation and increased troop deployments, placated angry Hindus and curtailed extremist activities for the near term. Introduction of the sweeping new antiterrorist legislation—targeted at Sikhs—indicated, however, that he expected more violence, even as he moved to conciliate moderate Sikhs. For their part, extremist Sikhs have underscored their continuing willingness to challenge the government and to resort to violence:

- The extremist wing of the Akali Dal Party—headed by Bhindranwale's father—and the radical *All India Sikh Students' Federation* rejected the accord that was concluded on 24 July 1985 by moderate Akali leader Sant Harchand Singh Longowal and Rajiv Gandhi and ratified by other Sikh leaders—even though the agreement conceded the major Sikh demands, including the transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab and a redrawing of the Punjab-Haryana boundary.
- Despite special security precautions, extremists assassinated Longowal in Punjab after he publicly announced his party's willingness to take part in the state election called by New Delhi for 25 September 1985. An anonymous caller told the Indian press that the Jarnail Khalsa—a hitherto unknown group—was responsible for the killing.

The measures agreed to in the July accord have proved difficult to implement, and the extremists have seized on this to continue their violence. In January 1986, New Delhi delayed transferring Chandigarh to Punjab because the commission appointed to oversee the transfer could not decide what parts of Punjab Haryana would get in return. Extremists again seized control of the Golden Temple, ousting its moderate leadership and renewing their call for the establishment of an independent Khalistan. Late in April, a group of militants in the temple declared the formation of the government of Khalistan. The move was condemned by members of the moderate wing of the Akali Dal, which has run the Punjab government since ousting Rajiv Gandhi's Congress Party in the September 1985 state election, and on 30 April Punjab police and security forces entered the temple and removed the extremists. Despite this show of strength, however, neither the Punjab government nor the government in New Delhi has been able to contain the threat of extremist violence.

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Overseas Sikhs

The Diaspora

Altogether, some 2 million Sikhs live outside India in more than 20 countries, the result of the Sikh Diaspora that began under British rule when, after the 1857 Mutiny, the British selected the Sikhs as a prime

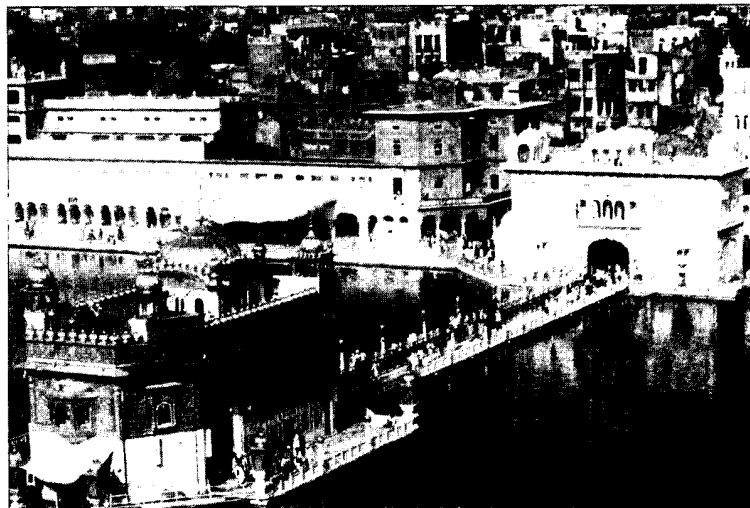
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(Clockwise from left) Three generations of Sikh militants in the Golden Temple just days before the Army's assault, June 1984. The Golden Temple, Amritsar, Punjab, repository of the original Granth Sahib, and the most holy of Sikh shrines. Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale (center, white robe) and followers marching in the Golden Temple five days before the assault by the Indian Army, June 1984. [redacted]



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source of loyal recruits for the British Indian Army.¹ By the 1880s, Sikhs were posted overseas to help maintain order in Britain's expanding empire in the

¹ Also called the Sepoy Rebellion and the First War of Independence, the mutiny was a reaction by both Hindu and Muslim Indians to British westernization. It was sparked in May 1857 when Indian troops at the Meerut garrison near Delhi rebelled rather than use the cartridges for the breach-loading Enfield rifle just introduced into the Indian Army. The paper cartridges, which had to be bitten into and torn to bare the powder charge before loading, were said to be coated with a mixture of pork and beef fat, anathema to Hindus and Muslims alike. The rebellion spread throughout the upper Gangetic Plain before being put down in June 1858. [redacted]

Far East and Pacific. After their enlistments ended, many stayed on in Hong Kong, Shanghai, Singapore, and Australia as night watchmen, policemen, and small businessmen, and some moved on to Fiji and New Zealand—thereby establishing a tradition of overseas residence and employment. [redacted]

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As employment opportunities opened, Sikhs migrated to North America, Europe, Africa, and the Middle East. By the turn of the century, Sikh pioneers were in British Colombia working as lumberjacks and in

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California as farmers. Immigration laws passed in Canada and the United States during the early 1900s to halt the inflow of Asians forced Sikhs to migrate elsewhere. Initially they focused on British East Africa (where they helped build the railroads in the 1930s), Burma, and the Philippines. After World War II, they increasingly migrated to the United Kingdom, where there was an open immigration policy. With the passage of exclusionary legislation in the United Kingdom, Sikh attention shifted to West Germany, the Netherlands, and Denmark. In the 1960s and 1970s some Sikhs, as construction workers, migrated to Libya and countries on the Persian Gulf. []

Their aggressiveness and self-confidence have generally enabled the 2 million overseas Sikhs to succeed in a variety of endeavors. Many occupy important positions in their adopted countries' professional, business, and government establishments, and Sikhs often provide leadership in overseas Indian communities. The remittances they forward to India along with other symbols of success, such as automobiles, have encouraged others to take the same route. Overseas earnings enable Sikh families in Punjab to accumulate savings and improve their economic and social positions in ways not possible by relying solely on local resources, and families commonly send one or more sons abroad to earn this extra income. Sikh emigration, thus, has developed a dynamic of its own. []

Potential Terrorist Network

The presence of large numbers of Sikhs around the world has made the issue of Khalistan an international matter. Nearly one-third of these 2 million expatriates are in the United Kingdom, the United States, and Canada, which have the largest overseas Sikh communities and the most active separatist organizations. Sikh extremists are apparently attempting to gain control of these communities, as revealed in press reports of violence between moderates and extremists for control of Sikh temples in Canada and the United Kingdom. The intentions of overseas Sikh extremists to engage in terrorism have been documented, for example, in FBI reports indicating that illegal Sikhs apprehended by the FBI planned to set up safehouses for terrorist use and to place terrorists in various cities in the United States to target Indian Government interests. []

Illegal Sikh Immigration to the United States

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In 1982, the US Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) began apprehending increasing numbers of illegal Sikhs in the United States. Most have come across the Canadian and Mexican borders and by boat from The Bahamas to Florida. Their destinations are California and New York, where most of the estimated 150,000 Sikhs in the United States reside. According to the INS, Sikhs attempting to enter the United States illegally frequently transit Frankfurt, where they take Aeroflot—because of its cheaper fares—to Mexico City via Moscow and Havana, and then go by air or rail to Mexicali or Tijuana. (The INS reports that the Sikhs remain in the transit lounge during their stopover in Moscow and have no contact with Soviet citizens.) Some go to The Bahamas from Havana for entry into Florida. Others arrive in Mexico City from the west after stopovers in Bangkok, Tokyo, and Vancouver. []

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Some Sikhs apprehended by the INS have admitted that they planned to recruit Khalistan sympathizers in the US Sikh community and set up safehouses in the United States for Sikhs wanted for crimes committed in India. They have revealed that they were trained in the use of swords, firearms, and explosives—some were trained as field medics—and that, as members of the Akali Dal Party, they would commit any act the party ordered. []

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The large number of Sikhs abroad has attracted the attention of Sikh extremists who hope to take advantage of the overseas communities to further their anti-Indian ends. FBI and INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service) reporting indicates that there is a global mechanism, loosely organized at present and often rent by internal differences, capable of moving and providing safehaven for Sikh extremists fleeing prosecution in India or bent on terrorism. While most overseas Sikhs do not support the establishment of Khalistan and abhor the extremists' violence, a few individuals, particularly in Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States, are active in, and leaders

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of, the separatist movement. []
[] they solicit verbal and material support among overseas Sikhs for the separatists and have formed a number of extremist organizations, some associated with terrorist groups in Punjab. []

Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States have been the sites for most acts of Sikh violence outside India. According to FBI and INS reporting, Sikh militants frequently travel between these three countries and probably maintain contact with extremists in India. Since 1982, the INS has apprehended an increasing number of illegal Sikhs in the United States. Some illegal Sikhs have admitted that they planned to recruit Khalistan sympathizers and set up safehouses for Sikh militants wanted for crimes committed in India; others have said they were given money and told to go to a specific city and await further instructions. []

Other countries serve, or could serve, as way stations and safehavens for mobile terrorists because of pro-separatist sentiment in their Sikh communities or their proximity to countries most susceptible to extremist acts. These countries include The Bahamas, Mexico, Thailand, and West Germany, which, according to the INS, are way stations on the route of illegal Sikh immigration to the United States; Pakistan, which India charges with harboring Sikh terrorists and allowing them easy transit across the border; Nepal, its porous border with India and lax immigration policies making it a prime transit point for Sikh terrorists traveling into, and out of, India; Kenya, which has a large proseparatist Sikh community; and Norway, which has several active Sikh separatist organizations. []

Separatists are attempting to gain control of overseas Sikh communities, as indicated by press reports of shootouts and other violence between extremist and moderate Sikhs for control of Sikh temples (gurdwaras) in Canada and the United Kingdom. Control of the temples, which are the spiritual and social centers of Sikh communities, and the monies contributed to run the temples and for welfare in the Sikh community would be invaluable to extremists pushing the separatist cause. Temples have canteens and sometimes free clinics and also serve as hostels for

transients. The US Embassy in Bangkok reports that transient extremists stayed in local temples while in Thailand to recruit among the Sikh community there. []

Principal Overseas Sikh Extremist Organizations
The Khalistan National Organization (KNO). Based in London, this separatist organization is headed by Dr. Jagjit Singh Chauhan, who was finance minister in the Punjab state government before he immigrated to the United Kingdom in 1971. Chauhan is the self-proclaimed leader of the "Republic of Khalistan." The KNO is linked to the Khalistan Council, which Chauhan founded in June 1984 as an umbrella organization intended to unify existing Sikh organizations after the storming of the Golden Temple. At about this time Chauhan publicly stated that the surviving dependents of any Sikh who died in an attempt to assassinate Indira Gandhi should be supported financially. []

Dal Khalsa. This radical separatist organization is based in Punjab but banned by the Indian Government. Said by the Indian Government to be modeled on the PLO, Dal Khalsa has carried out aircraft hijackings and assassinations of Sikhs and others critical of the Khalistan movement to achieve its goal of establishing a fundamentalist religious nation. Dal Khalsa has units in the United Kingdom, the United States, and perhaps West Germany. []

Babbar Khalsa. One of the main Sikh militant groups in Vancouver, British Columbia, this organization was founded by Talwinder Singh Parmar, according to US Embassy reporting. Its members have been involved in clashes with moderates for control of local temples, and police raids have turned up weapons in members' homes. The INS reports that Parmar was arrested in 1983 in West Germany for a murder he allegedly committed while visiting India. Parmar was arrested again in November 1985 in connection with the Tokyo airport bombing. Until then, the Indian Government had considered Parmar the most dangerous terrorist at large. Parmar, a Canadian citizen, had repeatedly threatened vengeance for the Indian Army's sacking of the Golden Temple, as he campaigned to increase his following in North America. []

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International Sikh Youth Federation (ISYF). The ISYF is considered to be the most potentially violent of the Sikh separatist organizations in the United Kingdom, [] where ISYF members have been involved in violence related to efforts to gain control of local temples. ISYF members in Canada have also used violence to take over local temples. Four ISYF members in India have been charged with conspiracy in Indira Gandhi's death, and we believe that the group was responsible for the recent shootings of three moderate Sikhs in the United Kingdom. []

All India Sikh Students' Federation (AISSF). Based in Punjab, the AISSF is the ISYF's parent organization. AISSF was outlawed from April 1984 to April 1985 by the Indian Government for alleged connection with bombings and assassinations in Punjab. The Embassy reports that AISSF has a branch in Norway. []

World Sikh Organization (WSO). Founded in 1984, the WSO is headquartered in Washington, D.C., and is intended to serve as an umbrella organization for Sikh groups worldwide. According to the press, it has functioned as a lobby to appeal to democratic countries for support for the establishment of Khalistan. []

Key Terrorist Targets

The threat posed by Sikh extremists to Indian interests abroad—government officials, embassies, banks, and especially Air India—and to innocent bystanders is not likely to abate even if Sikh demands called for

in the July accord are implemented. The hardcore extremists, we believe, will be satisfied only with the establishment of an independent Sikh nation and will continue their violence indefinitely, primarily in India, but also abroad:

- Indian leaders particularly will be at risk, as demonstrated by the assassinations of national and local leaders in India and the revelation of the plots to kill Rajiv Gandhi during his US visit in June 1985 and his visits to the Commonwealth meeting in The Bahamas and the United Nations in New York the following October. We believe, further, that all surviving members of Indira Gandhi's family are at risk as is India's President, Zail Singh, who is a Sikh, but viewed by extremists as a traitor.

- Indian diplomatic missions, located in more than 140 countries, and branches of Indian Government and commercial banks, located in Western Europe, the Persian Gulf, Africa, East Asia, the Pacific, the Caribbean, and the United States, are also at risk.

- Air India aircraft and facilities around the world will continue to be especially attractive targets for Sikh terrorists. Air India serves major cities in Western Europe, Africa, the Middle East, East and Southeast Asia, and Australia, as well as New York and Moscow, and it has ticket sales offices in a number of other cities. Many of these cities—Vancouver, Toronto, Montreal, New York, London, Frankfurt, Kuwait, Nairobi, Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, Singapore, Sydney, Hong Kong—have Sikh communities that could hide terrorists. Air India facilities in the Canadian cities, London, and perhaps Nairobi might be in greatest danger from terrorism because of the strong proseparatist sentiment in the local Sikh communities.

- We expect tensions and occasional violence to continue as extremists try to gain control in the more volatile overseas Sikh communities, such as those in London and its suburbs in the United Kingdom; Vancouver, Edmonton, and Ottawa in Canada; and, according to the FBI, Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York in the United States. []

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We believe that overseas Sikhs bent on engaging in terrorist activities would have little difficulty obtaining paramilitary training and arms. A long martial tradition confers on them an initial advantage, and many have served in the Indian and other armies. The threat could come not only from known terrorists associated with extremist organizations, but also from individuals and small autonomous groups of unknown Sikhs committed to avenging the Golden Temple and other anti-Sikh incidents in India; these Sikhs may be so emotionally committed to their cause that suicide squads cannot be ruled out.

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No information has yet surfaced linking Sikh extremists with other international terrorist organizations.

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Appendix

Country Profiles ²

Americas

Canada

There is said to be strong support for the Khalistan movement among the country's 100,000 to 150,000 Sikhs. Sikh communities are located in major cities from Vancouver to Ottawa, and Canada, like the United States and United Kingdom, is a major gathering place for Sikh militants. The Air India aircraft that exploded over the Atlantic and the baggage that exploded in the Tokyo airport in June 1985 originated in Canada, and there are continuing violent clashes between militants and moderates in Sikh communities in Vancouver, Ottawa, and Toronto. Several of the overseas Sikh organizations are very active in Canada (see Principal Overseas Sikh Extremist Organizations). []

Mexico

The INS reports that Mexico is an important way station for Sikh extremists entering the United States illegally. According to Embassy reporting, there are no Sikhs residing in the country. []

Trinidad and Tobago

Trinidad and Tobago's 100 local Sikhs are prosperous and well integrated into the Indian community, which constitutes some 40 percent of the country's population. The Embassy reports that most local Sikhs shave, cut their hair, and forgo the other outward symbols of the Khalsa and have not engaged in any show of support for Khalistan. The country's only Sikh temple has just 20 members. []

² Population numbers in this section do not add up to the 2 million figure given as the number of Sikhs thought to be living outside India. This is primarily because (1) the 2 million figure is itself a rough estimate, (2) country totals are estimates because national censuses do not distinguish Sikhs from other Indian residents, and (3) not all US Embassies in countries with Sikh populations responded to our query for this information. []

Europe

Denmark

The Embassy reports that there are fewer than 600 Sikhs in Denmark. Shopkeepers and small businessmen, they are well integrated into both the Danish and Indian communities, and there are no known radical Sikh groups in the country. []

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Federal Republic of Germany

Sikh separatists sought political asylum and refugee status in West Germany during the early 1980s, and Frankfurt is an important way station for illegal immigration to the United States. The Embassy reports that as many as 4,000 to 5,000 Sikhs live in the Federal Republic, but there are no recognized Sikh communities or extremist organizations. []

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Finland

The Embassy estimates that there are about 20 to 25 adult Sikh males in Finland, probably all living in the Helsinki area, none of them politically active. In the summer of 1984, Finnish authorities denied a group of 10 young Sikh males permission to transit Helsinki en route from Moscow to Canada or the United States. Sikhs have not attempted to transit Finland since then. []

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Norway

The Embassy reports that there are about 1,500 Sikhs in Norway. The Embassy also reports that the Indian Government suspects one of them, Harinder Singh, Charge d'Affairs of the Indian Embassy in Oslo until his dramatic resignation over the Golden Temple incident, of involvement in the assassination of Indira Gandhi. Singh is also head of the local chapter of the World Sikh Organization (WSO). There is some, as yet unmeasured, support in Norway's Sikh community for the separatists; the Oslo police report that the

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International Sikh Youth Federation, the All India Sikh Students' Federation, the Dashmesh Regiment, the Khalistan Council, and the Sikh Youth Organization also are active in the country. []

Norwegian authorities report that some local Sikhs are prominently involved in the movement of illicit drugs from southwest Asia and the Middle East to North America. The Norwegians, however, have not suggested a connection between Sikh extremists and drug trafficking. []

United Kingdom

The United Kingdom has the largest Sikh community outside India—from 300,000 to 400,000 members—and, like Canada and the United States, is a major area for Sikh militant operations. Press reports indicate that militants have raised massive amounts of money in British Sikh communities for the separatist cause and that they have taken over administration of a number of temples. The "Republic of Khalistan" is headquartered in the United Kingdom (see Principal Overseas Sikh Extremist Organizations). []

Africa

Burundi

Burundi's Sikh community consists of about a dozen families brought in by Hindu businessmen as auto mechanics and tea plantation workers. Judging from their apology to Hindu leaders for Sikh involvement in Mrs. Gandhi's death, as reported by the Embassy, Burundi's Sikhs appear to have little sympathy for the separatist movement and would be unlikely to provide safehaven or otherwise aid terrorists. Additionally, the country's remote location makes it an unlikely way station. []

Kenya

Approximately 90 percent of Kenya's 7,000 to 8,000 Sikhs are in sympathy with the separatist movement, according to Embassy reporting. The Sikh community was particularly outraged by the Indian Army's attack on the Golden Temple and asked the Kenyan Government for permission to stage a demonstration, which was refused. An important transportation hub in the western Indian Ocean, Kenya could well serve as a way station for Sikh militants. []

About 60 percent of Kenya's Sikhs live in Nairobi. Others live in the main ports of Mombasa, on the Indian Ocean; Kisumu, on Lake Victoria; and in Nakuru, Eldoret, and Makindu. Sikhs in Kenya work in construction, farming, and lumbering. The Sikhs do not mix socially with the Hindu Indian community or with the indigenous communities. []

Malawi

Malawi's remoteness and the smallness of its Sikh community—20 families—make it an unlikely focus, we believe, of Sikh terrorist activity. []

Middle East

Kuwait

Most of Kuwait's 8,000 to 10,000 Sikhs are longtime resident, conservative businessmen with little interest in the Khalistan movement. Many even support Rajiv Gandhi's Congress Party, according to Embassy reporting, and other Sikhs in Kuwait are apolitical. []

South Asia

Afghanistan

Most of Afghanistan's Sikhs have been in the country for generations, according to Embassy reporting. They are shopkeepers, small businessmen, and money changers and are integrated into the economic, but not cultural, life of the country. []

We do not know whether Afghanistan's Sikhs support the Khalistan movement. In view of the tight security that prevails in Kabul, where many of the country's 7,000 Sikhs live, and given the Afghan—and Soviet—Government's interest in maintaining good relations with India, demonstrations in support of the separatists would probably be prohibited. By the same token, the likelihood of Sikh terrorist acts against Indian interests there are slim. []

Bangladesh

A small shrine in Dhaka draws an unknown number of Sikh pilgrims from India and elsewhere. The Embassy has no information that terrorists use this

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pilgrimage as a vehicle for reaching Bangladesh or other countries, but the pilgrimage could provide cover for such activities. According to Embassy reporting, the Indian High Commissioner and some of his staff and, perhaps, six to eight businessmen are the only Sikhs in Bangladesh. []

Nepal

Nepal's Sikh community consists of 3,000 to 4,000 members in Kathmandu and another contingent along the Indian border. The Embassy reports that most are engaged in long-range road transport. Nepal has served as a major point of transit and safehaven for Sikh terrorists. In a recent agreement with India, however, Nepal has agreed to attempt to curtail such movement in exchange for a reciprocal effort from India regarding Nepalese dissidents. []

Pakistan



Despite Sikhism's strong historical identification with much of the area now in Pakistan—the sect's founder was born there, and Lahore served as the capital of the 19th-century Sikh kingdom—only one Sikh community remains in the country. Consisting of some 800 individuals, according to Embassy reporting, it is located near Peshawar in the North-West Frontier. These Sikhs speak Pushtu and are probably oriented more toward Afghanistan than toward India. []

Southeast Asia

Burma

There are about 500 Sikh families in Burma. The Embassy reports that 30 to 40 percent of them live in Rangoon, with smaller groupings in Taunggyi and Maymyo and the remainder scattered around the country. As merchants, tailors, and craftsmen, they are well integrated into the local communities. Until Indira Gandhi's assassination, Sikhs provided the

local Indian community with leadership and drive. Since then, they have withdrawn and have begun to look inward. []

The Embassy reports that the Burmese Government maintains a close watch on local Sikhs. Immediately after the death of Indira Gandhi, the Burmese conducted an investigation of local Sikhs to determine whether there were connections with known extremist groups. The investigation reportedly turned up none. []

Indonesia

The Embassy reports that ties between Indonesia's Sikh community of about 100 families and Punjab are strong. While most local Sikhs are Indonesian citizens, many received their education in India and return to India to find a spouse. Although local Sikhs are openly critical of New Delhi's policies in Punjab, they have remained quiescent. Two local Indian Government officials, both Sikhs, discount the possibility that local Sikhs might become involved in terrorist activities. []

Malaysia

Well integrated into local society, Malaysia's 40,000 to 50,000 Sikhs appear content, on the whole, to observe events in Punjab from afar. According to Embassy reporting, some Sikhs are in sympathy with the separatist movement, but are reluctant to participate in demonstrations or violent acts of support even though individual Sikhs and some Sikh temples were targets for minor incidents after Mrs. Gandhi's death. Active in local politics, Sikhs have talked of forming their own party because they believe that the Malaysian Indian Congress Party does not represent their interests adequately. []

The Embassy reports that Malaysia's Sikhs do not consider themselves part of the country's 1.5 million Indian community. Sikh communities are located in Kuala Lumpur, Penang, Ipoh, Taiping, Johore Baharu, and Seremban where Sikhs work in the Malaysian civil service, banking, and the professions. []

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Secret**Thailand**

Thailand's Sikhs number about 40,000. They are settled in affluent communities in urban areas, the largest located in Bangkok. The Embassy reports that many Sikhs are in textile and real estate businesses, and, although they have been in the country for generations, they have not integrated appreciably into Thai society. They have withdrawn noticeably from Thailand's Hindu community of some 75,000 since 1984. []

The Embassy reports that Sikh extremists who visited Thailand to recruit young men to the separatist cause stayed at the local temple. The Embassy further reports that the local Sikh religious and cultural association had channeled financial support to both extremists and moderates in Punjab and that Sikhs demonstrated and threw rocks at the Indian Embassy after the Golden Temple incident in 1984. Thai officials quickly dispersed the demonstrators, however, and generally keep a tight rein on such activities with threats of deportation. Still, Indian Embassy officials in Thailand believe that the Sikh community is little influenced by radical groups and that its support for the Khalistan movement probably is limited to financial and material donations. []

exhibited little awareness of events in Punjab. Sikh terrorists, however, probably could find safehaven within the militant minority and use Hong Kong's excellent air connections for travel elsewhere. []

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New Zealand

The Embassy describes New Zealand's 800 Sikhs as law abiding and well integrated into local society. They do, however, follow developments in Punjab closely and conducted peaceful demonstrations at the time of the Indian Army's attack on the Golden Temple in 1984. []

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Pacific**Australia**

The Embassy reports that there is some support among Australia's 6,000 to 8,000 Sikhs for the separatists. Some held demonstrations protesting the attack on the Golden Temple. The Embassy also reports that, although the Sikh community has withdrawn from the Hindu community over the past year, there is no animosity between the two groups. Australia's remote location makes it an unlikely way station for terrorists. Most of the country's Sikhs live in Sydney and Melbourne, and there are smaller communities in Woolgoolga, Cairns, Brisbane, Adelaide, and Perth.

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Hong Kong

[]
[] Most local Sikhs are engaged in Hong Kong's commercial activities and have

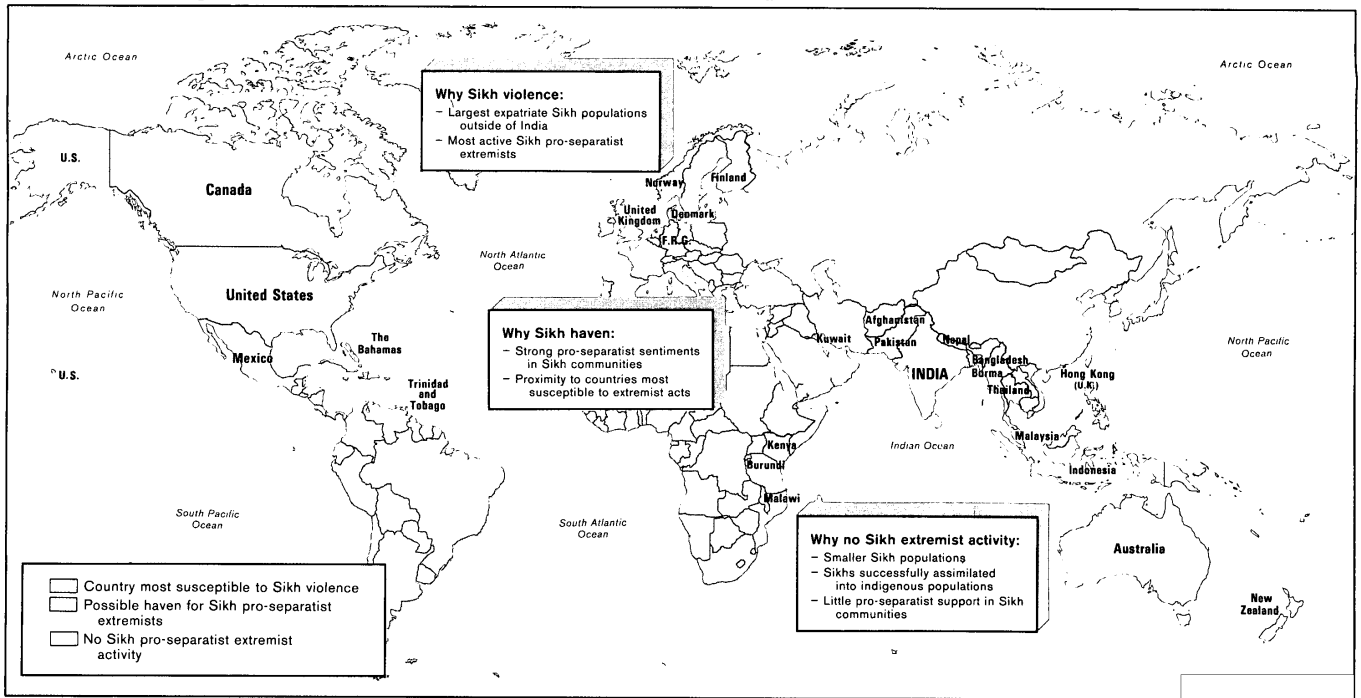
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Countries Most Susceptible to Sikh Violence and Possible Sikh Havens Outside of India



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